THE DREAMS OF TIPU SULTAN



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THE DREAMS OF TIPU SULTAN

Translated from the original Persian
with an Introduction and Notes

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ILLUSTRATIONS

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The editor of this little book wishes to express his deep gratitude to all those friends who helped him in its preparation. To the India Office Library he is particularly thankful for permitting him to obtain a microfilm and a photostatic copy of the original manuscript in their possession. A rotograph of the copy of this manuscript was procured from the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, through the kindness of Dr. R. Curiel, Director of Archaeology, Government of Pakistan. From among those who assisted him in the task of translation, annotation, etc., he is happy to make special mention of Mr. Zakariyya Mail of the Pakistan Historical Society and Mr. Syed Abdur Rahman, a research scholar in the Department of History, University of Karachi, now a lecturer in the Jamia College.

INTRODUCTION

In the India Office Library there is a very valuable and interesting manuscript containing Tipu Sultan's dreams in his own hand writing.[1] It was discovered by Colonel Kirkpatrick[2] among other memoranda in the Sultan's bed-chamber when the palace was subjected to a thorough search after the fall of Seringapatam, in May 1799. Habibullah, the Munshi of Tipu Sultan was said to be present at the time the manuscript was discovered.

[1]Herman Ethe, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, Vol. I, No. 3001. The Bibliotheque Nationale of Paris has a copy of this document which was made in 1822 for the Bibliotheque Royale, as it was then called. *See* the Catalogue of the Bibliotheque Nationale, *Suppl. Pers.*, 937. I have secured photostatic copies of the original manuscript in the India Office as well as of its copy in the Bibliotheque Nationale.

[2]Kirkpatrick, W., is the editor of *Select Letters of Tippoo Sultaun*, London, 1811. Because of his knowledge of oriental languages and experience of different courts in India, he was entrusted with the task of examining and reporting on the documents seized from the palace, which he did.

According to Kirkpatrick, Habibullah knew of the existence of such a manuscript but Tipu Sultan had so successfully concealed it that this confidant of his had never before seen it. Tipu Sultan was said to have always manifested peculiar anxiety to hide it from the view of any who happened to approach while he was either reading or writing in it.[1] Later, on April 23, 1800, this little diary, or "register", as it has been termed, was presented in the name of the Marquis Wellesley to Hugh Inglis, Chairman of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, by Major (as he then was) Alexander Beatson.[2] Thus belonging to the Library of the East India Company, London, it is now in possession of the India Office Library. Entries in this register have

[1]Beatson, *A View of the Origin and Conduct of War with Tippoo Sultaun*, London, 1800, p. 196. See also the Memoranda in English by Beatson in the manuscript itself.

[2]At one time aid-de-camp to Marquis Wellesley and Surveyor-General to the army in the field; Beatson is the author of one of the first books published by a British writer on Tipu Sultan, cited above.

been made in what Ethe has called "a fearful Shakista". The dreams and other notes are recorded on the first thirty-two pages of the register and again on eleven pages towards the end of it. In between a large number of pages are left blank. The size of the register is $7\frac{7}{8}$ inches by $5\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

In this diary, apart from a few other notes, Tipu Sultan has put down some of his dreams. Obviously it cannot be considered a complete register of his dreams. It is more likely that he wrote out only such dreams in it as he thought worth recording. The first of the recorded dreams is dated 1785, the last 1798, covering a period of thirteen years. Of some of these dreams he has given his own interpretations. Leaving aside other memoranda, the dreams recorded are thirty-seven in number.[1] They are all in Persian.

1 Six of these dreams (Nos. 12, 13, 14, 17, 24 and 28) have been translated by Beatson and given in the form of an appendix to his book cited above, appendix—XXXV, pp. CIX-CXII

In a few places the language is defective and ungrammatical, but what is even more astonishing is that it contains spelling mistakes. The following list which is not exhaustive will give an idea of the misspellings :—

بذرگ for بزرگ (Dreams 1 and 30)

مذبور for مزبور (Dreams 1,3,9,11 and 27)

طلاوت for تلاوت (Dream 8)

سحرا for صحرا (Dream 9)

سحرائی for صحرائی (Dream 16)

برخواستم for برخاستم (Dream 13)

برخواسته for برخاسته (Dream 13)

عطاق for آطاق (Dream 16)

خزاب for خضاب (Dream 21)

اصلحه for اسلحه (Dream 30)

استلاح for اصطلاح (In the last note)

مسری for مصری (In the last note)

And last but not least

قرعان for قرآن (which occurs twice in Dream No. 8)

Court historians have eulogized not only Tipu Sultan's character but his scholarship and literary skill, and his mastery of the Persian language has been taken for granted. British historians have reviled his character, disregarding the views of the court historians, but they have accepted their contention with regard to his scholastic attainments. The facts are the other way round. It is not essential that a great man should also be a master of some language or other which, in any case, Tipu Sultan was not. From the age of fifteen onwards we see him accompanying his father in the various wars which he fought. It is not to be wondered at that he could not receive systematic education of the type that he might have received had he lived in more peaceful times.

Now a word about the contents of the dreams. Of the thirty-seven dreams recorded the majority are concerned with his wars against the British and their

allies. Such are dreams I, III, VII, XI, XIV, XX, XXI, XXIV, XXV, XXVIII, XXIX, XXXII and XXXVI. There are several other dreams which give tidings of general success and victory in war such as dreams II, IV, V, VI, IX, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX, XX, XXII, XXIII, XXVII, XXVIII, and XXXIII. Some of the dreams point to his intense love and veneration for the Prophet, Hadrat Ali and other Muslim saints and sufis. This is manifest from dreams VIII, X, XII, XXXI XXXIV and XXXV.

In some of the dreams there is clear indication that the dream was recorded in the register immediately after Tipu Sultan woke up. Towards the end of dream III, for instance, he says, "While this conversation was still in progress, I woke up and wrote down the contents of the dream immediately", and at the end of dream IV, he records, "At this juncture I woke up and wrote down the dream."

Tipu Sultan has also interpreted some of his dreams. Such is the case with dreams XIII, XVII, XXVIII and XXXI. Some of these interpretations are highly interesting. In dream XIII Tipu Sultan interprets the woman in man's dress as his enemy, the Marhattas, against whom he was waging a war at that time. In dream XXVIII the three silver trays of fresh dates have been interpreted as the dominions of his three enemies, the British, the Marhattas and the Nizam, which, so he hoped, would fall into his hands.

As has been mentioned above, Tipu Sultan's diary consists of dreams and certain other memoranda. In this book the reader will find the translation of all the dreams recorded by Tipu Sultan. As to the other memoranda, only one piece has been selected for translation. The various items in the memoranda relate to some of the events of Tipu Sultan's time or episodes in his life. In one place, for instance, one finds the names of persons

killed or wounded in a certain battle, and in another, the time of Tipu Sultan's departure from, or arrival in, the Capital on a particular occasion. A present given by Tipu Sultan to a young couple on the occasion of their betrothal also finds a mention. A report received from the *mofussil* about the discovery of enormous footprints in a field has been included in the diary which, incidentally, is not in Tipu Sultan's own hand-writing. Perhaps he asked one of his secretaries to insert it in the diary. There is also recorded a dream of one, Sayyid Muhammad Aslam, concerning Tipu Sultan which he thought it fit to insert along with his own dreams. This piece seemed to fit into the scheme of the present book and has, therefore, been translated.

The dominant note throughout these dreams is what was uppermost in Tipu Sultan's mind—how to free his country from the foreign yoke. Whatever the psycho-analyst may have to say about

them, to a student of history it is of greater importance to discover how Tipu Sultan himself interpreted these dreams and how they influenced his actions. From a perusal of this register it becomes clear that his hours of sleep were as devoted to the cause of freedom as the hours while he was awake.

A NOTE ON TIPU SULTAN'S CALENDAR

Among the reforms introduced by Tipu Sultan was the reform of the calendar. It is necessary to have an understanding of it for the proper appreciation of the dates mentioned by Tipu Sultan in this book.

The function of the calendar is to distribute time into certain periods such as hours, days, weeks, months, years, etc. The solar day is determined by the daily rotation of the earth on its axis and the alternation of light and darkness and the solar year by the revolution of the earth around the sun which completes the circles of the seasons. But it is the revolution of the moon around the earth which yields the month.

Thus the solar day, the solar year and the lunar month may be termed the natural divisions of time. The Muslim

calendar, however, is a lunar calendar in which twelve lunar months make a year, irrespective of the circle of seasons. The Muslim era, as is well known, is counted from the year of the *hijrat* or migration of the Prophet of Islam from Mecca to Medina in 622, A.D. The result of the adoption of the lunar year by the Muslims has been that the Muslim festivals do not fall in any particular seasons and run through all the seasons of the year, and in about 32-½ solar years the Muslim year returns to its starting point. Muslim governments, in following this calendar, have experienced administrative difficulty in the collection of agricultural taxes since crops are linked up with the seasons whereas the Muslim year is not. Consequently attempts have been made in Muslim history to devise ways and means for overcoming this difficulty. While for religious purposes the lunar year has been treated as sacrosanct, for other purposes a number of devices have been adopted from time to time.

In this connection may be mentioned the efforts of the Fatimid Al-Aziz, about 366 A.H., of the Abbasid Caliph at-Tai (363-381 A.H.), of the Seljuq Malik Shah, assisted in his efforts by the famous poet, Umar Khayyam (circa 471, A.H.) In the nineteenth century the Ottoman Government also turned towards what was described as *Islah-et-teqwim.*

In India the Muslims found that the Hindus had from very early times employed luni-solar cycles made up of a combination of solar and lunar years in which the lunar year was periodically adjusted to the solar year. The Hindu rites and festivals were regulated by the lunar year ; and in domestic life, important events such as the choosing of an auspicious occasion for marriage or undertaking a journey were regulated by the lunar calendar. But this calendar itself was subject to adjustments to the solar calendar by the addition of intercalary months. The Hindu calendar also recognized the existence of

a sixty-year cycle known as "Brihaspati Chakra". Tipu Sultan was apparently influenced by these factors.

The reforms introduced by Tipu Sultan in the prevalent Muslim calendar consisted of the following:

He reckoned the Muslim era not from the *hijrat* occurring in 622 but from the advent of Islam in 609 A.C. He chose to call this era "*Maulud-i-Muhammad*", the era reckoned from the birth of Muhammad. Actually, however, his era begins not with the birth of the Prophet but with the proclamation of prophet-hood by Muhammad. In other words, his era begins thirteen years earlier than the *hijrat*.

Another measure adopted by Tipu Sultan in connection with the calendar was the adoption of the Hindu months and the sixty-year cycle. He, however, gave new names to the various Hindu months. Similarly each year in the 60-year cycle was given a distinct name. In designating the months and years, he

made use of the *abjad* and *abtath* systems of evaluating every letter of the alphabet in terms of numbers. The *abjad* system which follows the ancient order of the alphabet had been quite common throughout the Muslim world for several centuries. In addition to this, however, Tipu Sultan employed another system of valuation known as *abtath* in which the order of letters is the one that exists in the Arabic script. He also called it "*hisab-i-zar*".

The numerical value of each letter according to the traditional *Abjad* system is as follows:—

د	ج	ب	ا
4	3	2	1
ح	ز	و	ه
8	7	6	5
ل	ک	ی	ط
30	20	10	9
ع	س	ن	م
70	60	50	40

ر	ق	ص	ف
200	100	90	80
خ	ث	ت	ش
600	500	400	300
غ	ظ	ض	ذ
1000	900	800	700

And the value of the various letters according to the *Abtath* is:—

ث	ت	ب	ا
4	3	2	1
د	خ	ح	ج
8	7	6	5
س	ز	ر	ذ
30	20	10	9
ط	ض	ص	ش
70	60	50	40
ف	غ	ع	ظ
200	100	90	80
م	ل	ک	ق
600	500	400	300
ی	ه	و	ن
1000	900	800	700

The names adopted for the months according to the *Abjad* and *Abtath* systems were:—

ABJAD

1.	Chait	Ahmadi	احمدی
2.	Baisakh	Bahari	بہاری
3.	Jeth	Jafari	جعفری
4.	Asarh	Darai	دارائی
5.	Sawan	Hashimi	ہاشمی
6.	Bhadon	Wasii	واسعی
7.	Asuj (or Kunwar).	Zabarjadi	زبرجدی
8.	Kartik	Haidari	حیدری
9.	Aghan	Tului	طلوعی
10.	Pus	Yusufi	یوسفی
11.	Magh	Yazidi	یازدی
12.	Phagun	Bayasi	بیاسی

ABTATH

1.	Chait	Ahmadi	احمدی
2.	Baisakh	Bahari	بہاری
3.	Jeth	Taqi	تقی
4.	Asarh	Thamari	ثمری
5.	Sawan	Jafari	جعفری
6.	Bhadon	Haidari	حیدری
7.	Asuj (or Kunwar).	Khusrawi	خسروی
8.	Kartik	Dini	دینی
9.	Aghan	Dhakiri	ذاکری
10.	Pus	Rahmani	رحمانی
11.	Magh	Radi[1]	راضی
12.	Phagun	Rabbani	ربانی

1. In this register Tipu Sultan writes this month as Razi رازی

Tipu Sultan also adopted the system of intercalary months. There was, however, a little difference between his system and the traditional Hindu system. Whereas these months were added by the Hindus towards the end of the year, Tipu Sultan added them in the beginning.

The names given to each year in the 60-year cycle were as follows:—

	ABJAD		*ABTATH*	
1.	Ahad	احد	Ahad	احد
2.	Ahmad	احمد	Ahmad	احمد
3.	Ab	آب	Ab	آب
4.	Aba	ابا	Aba	ابا
5.	Bab	باب	Bab	باب
6.	Baj	باج	Tab	تاب
7.	Abad	ابد	Taba	تابا
8.	Abaad	آباد	Baj	باج
9.	Jah	جاہ	Taj	تاج
10.	Awj	اوج	Thabit	ثابت

	ABJAD		*ABTATH*	
11.	Haj	حج	Abad	ابد
12.	Jahd	جهد	Abaad	آباد
13.	Jihad	جهاد	Bar	بار
14.	Wajid	واجد	Hajib	حاجب
15.	Yad	یاد	Jar	جر
16.	Zuhd	زهد	Rija	رجا
17.	Jawza	جوزا	Hur	حر
18.	Hai	حی	Dur	در
19.	Wahid	واحد	Dar	دار
20.	Buduh	بدوح	Rahat	راحت
21.	Tayyib	طیب	Barid	بارد
22.	Tayib	طائب	Charkh	چرخ
23.	Yuz	یوز	Kharaj	خراج
24.	Kad	کد	Taz	تاز
25.	Hawi	حاوی	Khirad	خرد
26.	Kabad	کبد	Badr Tab	بدر تاب
27.	Agah	آگاه	Dur Taj	در تاج

	ABJAD		*ABTATH*	
28.	Wahid	وحيد	Dadar	دادار
29.	Yahi	ياحى	Zad	زاد
30.	Kai	كائى	Zar	زر
31.	Kaya	كيا	Zaar	زار
32.	Kabud	كبود	Bazr	بزر
33.	Ibl	ابل	Zarab	زر آب
34.	Dil	دل	Sata	ستا
35.	Dal	دال	Zartab	زرتب
36.	Jibal	جبال	Rabtaz	ربتاز
37.	Zaki	ذكى	Sakh	ساخ
38.	Azal	ازل	Sakha	ساخا
39.	Jalu (or Jilau.)	جلو	Daraz	دراز
40.	Dalw	دلو	Dasa	داسا
41.	Ma	ماء	Sha	شا
42.	Kabk	كبك	Sara	سارا
43.	Jam	جم	Sarab	سراب
44.	Jaam	جام	Shata	شتا

	ABJAD		*ABTATH*	
45.	Adam	آدم	Zabarjad	زبر جد
46.	Wali	ولی	Sihr	سحر
47.	Waali	والی	Sahir	ساحر
48.	Kawkab	کوکب	Rasikh	راسخ
49.	Kawakib	کواکب	Shad	شاد
50.	Yam	یم	Hirasat	حراست
51.	Dawam	دوام	Saz	ساز
52.	Hamd	حمد	Shadab	شاداب
53.	Hamid	حامد	Barish	بارش
54.	Jan	جان	Rastar	رستار
55.	Adan	ادن	Bashtar	بشتر
56.	Huma	ھما	Basharat	بشارت
57.	Majid	مجید	Sharh	شرح
58.	Kuhl	کحل	Rushd	رشد
59.	Jahan	جہاں	Sabah	صباح
60.	Mujiz	مجیز	Irshad	ارشاد

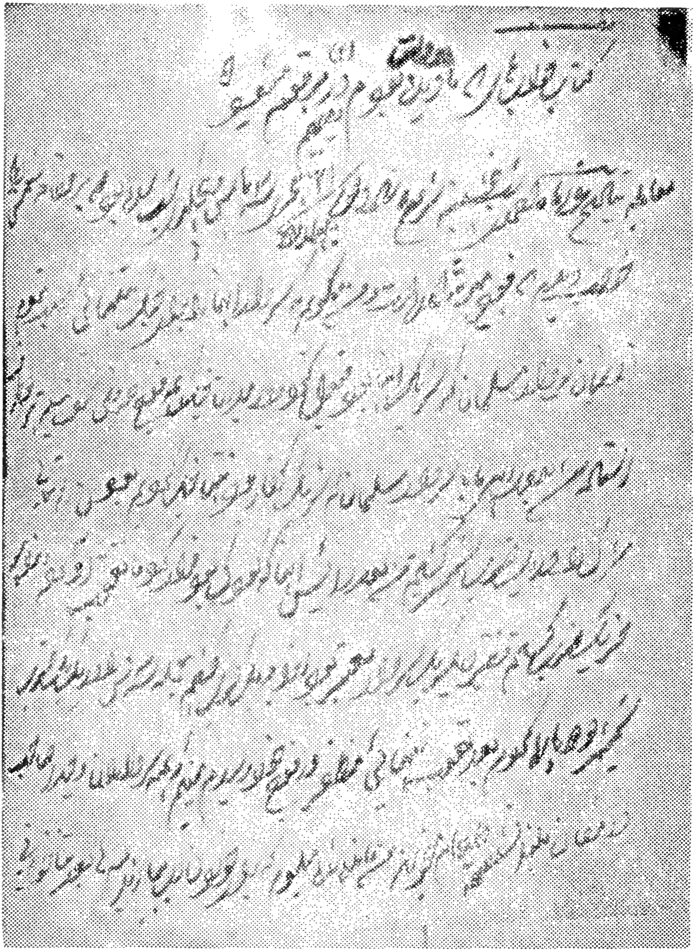
Before concluding it is necessary to refer to one more innovation of Tipu Sultan which, indeed, deserves special mention, for without comprehending it, the dates in this register would be inexplicable. Like the Arabic script which is written from right to left, Tipu Sultan wrote figures also in this manner. Thus he wrote 54 as 45, 132 as 231, and 1217 as 7121. In the register he writes his figures uniformly in this manner, although, to avoid unnecessary confusion, the translator has followed the normal practice.

THE DREAMS OF TIPU SULTAN

PREFACE

THE BOOK OF DREAMS

The dreams I have had and am having are being written in (this register).



A page from Tipu Sultan's Book of Dreams.

Dream I

THREE OFFICERS OF THE MARHATTA ARMY

On the 1st of the lunar month Ahmadi, on Thursday night, in the beginning of the year Dalw, 1200 A.H.[1], when three quarters and five watches of the night were over, while at Shamsabad, I had a dream: It appeared to me as if the Marhatta army had arrived and I was throwing out a challenge to its commander to come forward and fight singly. A Muslim officer of the army accepted the challenge. In the battle-field, while both the armies were facing each other, I killed the Muslim officer with one single strike of the sword. Thereupon the commander of the army, who was a youth, fled. I pursued and overtook him and in one stroke I finished him. Similarly I killed a third

1. For the names of months and years used by Tipu Sultan in this diary and generally for his calendar, *see* pp. 17—33.

officer of importance. Having thus killed three officers with one strike each, I came back to my men triumphant and victorious.

Then I saw in the dream all my officers and Haidar Sahib[1] taking their meals in a house. I was tired and was asking for drinking water. Those present, after paying compliments, requested me to drink water after taking food. In the meanwhile a venerable old man wearing a white beard and with cream and sweets in his hands appeared and asked me to partake of them. I took these things from him and after eating them I said to myself: "I have never before taken such savoury and tasteful food; it is simply delicious." Then, after performing ablution, I enquired from my officers whether they had destroyed the army of the unbelievers. The officers of the Haidari army replied that they had not and that they had taken no initiative in the matter and had

1 A cousin of Tipu Sultan's father, Haidar Ali. It was Haidar Sahib, himself in the employment of the Raja of Mysore, who had first introduced Haidar Ali to the Raja.

been awaiting orders. Meanwhile, they said, the army of the unbelievers together with the booty was stationed in the villages. Having alerted my army, I at once started for the place, took away the sword from my attendant and tied it to my waist. I told Sayyid Junaid,[1] Sayyid Ghaffar[2] and other officers to be ready with their men for war. And that is all.

1 A trusted officer of Tipu Sultan's army.

2 Sayyid Ghaffar, formerly belonging to the army of the Nawab of Arcot, was a confidant of Tipu Sultan; a very brave and loyal person and an officer of his army since 1782. He died fighting at Seringapatam in the last Anglo-Mysore war in which Tipu Sultan himself was killed. *Nishan-i-Haidari*, p. 390.

Dream II

THE CRESCENT

It was Sunday, the night of Monday, of the lunar year the 27th of *Zilhijja*, on this side of Shahidpur by the river Kaveri,[1] about the time of the false dawn that I had a dream: It appeared to me as if along with other people I was standing on a high spot looking for the new moon of the month of Ramadan. None could see the moon. I, however, saw a very slender and beautiful crescent surrounded by several stars of the pleiades. I seemed to be pointing the new moon to all others present and telling them that, if God willed, 'Id would be celebrated the following day ....That is all.

1 Seringapatam, the Capital of Tipu Sultan, is situated on the Kaveri. In history and literature the river has come to be closely interlinked with the memory of Tipu Sultan.

Dream III

SEATING A KING ON THE THRONE OF DELHI

O munificent God !

On the 15th of the month Bahari, the year Sha, 1215, from the birth of Muhammad, on Monday when five watches of the day remained, I had a dream: It seemed as if I had alighted in the vicinity of Delhi, and Sindhia, the Marhatta Chief, had along with his army, similarly encamped quite close to us. A fine officer of the Delhi army was nearby. Giving him my word, I ordered him to come to me. The above mentioned officer and Qutbuddin[1] sat in front of me and a rosary lay before them. I asked the officer mentioned above to take an oath on the rosary which symbolises God's word after which

[1] One of the generals of Tipu Sultan. He was a member of the mission that was sent to the Nizam in 1787.

I promised I would tell him something. The officer, thereupon, took the oath on the rosary. Then I said to him : "You along with your men and Qutbuddin Khan along with the men of our own army should both encamp in front of the unbelievers and, if God wills, I shall be going to Delhi to make arrangements for its administration and seat a king on the throne, since this will give strength to Islam. Once I have done that, I shall be able to punish the unbelievers thoroughly." While this conversation was still in progress, I woke up and wrote down the contents of the dream immediately. This is all.

Dream IV

THE PITCHERS OF MILK

O MERCIFUL GOD!

On the 18th of the month Taqi, of the year 1218, from the birth of Muhammad, on the night of Wednesday, when four watches were yet to go and while returning after the conquest of the entrenchments of Rama Nayar[1] at Madher Kerah near Salamabad[2], I had a dream: It seemed as if a person immediately after milking a cow had brought two small pitchers of fresh milk before me and was saying that he had brought this milk

[1] Leader of the Malabar insurgents. For a description of the Nayars, in general, *see* E. Thurston. *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Madras, 1909, Vol. V, pp. 283-413.

[2] Salamabad was the name given by Tipu Sultan to Satyamangalam. The contention of Mahmud Bangalori that Salamabad was the name given to Coimbatore (vide *Saltanat-i-Khudadad*, 4th ed., p. 503) is not corroborated by Kirkpatrick's *Letters of Tipu Sultan*, translated by Mahmud Banglori into Urdu and entitled *Sahifa-i-Tipu Sultan*, Vol. II, p. 181.

for me straight from the udder and that it was very sweet, tasteful and rich in butter. I took the pitchers from his hand and found this fresh milk bubbling with particles of butter scattered on top. After telling the man that the milk must be very sweet and agreeable to the palate, I took the milk and kept it with me. At this juncture I woke up and wrote down the dream.

Dream V

THE SEA COCOANUTS

O TRUTHFUL GOD!

On the 21st night of the month Zabarjadi, the following day being Tuesday, and corresponding to the 19th night of *Ziqa'd*, when morning was about to dawn, at Patan, the Capital, I had the following dream: I seemed to have gone up to the large upper chamber where I saw forty to fifty sea cocoa-nuts. The smallest of these was about the size of a lemon and the biggest was as large as a small pitcher. I took them all and kept them in front of me. I cut one of the cocoa-nuts and drank its water. I praised the water of the cocoa-nut and said that it was extremely sweet and refreshing. I had tasted the water of sea cocoa-nuts previously on two or three occasions but had found it brackish. I was surprised to find the

water of these cocoa-nuts so sweet. In the meantime certain women who were strangers and were sitting there, cut one of the bigger cocoa-nuts and removing its cover opened it and passing on the pulp to me said that it was very sweet. I, thus, took it in my hand. The other cocoa-nuts were still lying in front of me when I woke up and did not again go to sleep.

Dream VI

THE BERYL MINE

O MERCIFUL GOD!

On the 24th,[1] the following day being Saturday, I had a dream: A venerable old man appeared with a large piece of beryl in his hand and said that a mine of this precious stone was situated in the hill named after Makhdum Jahanian Jahan (Gasht).[2] This hill is situated near

[1] The month is not mentioned in this dream but apparently the 24th of the same month is meant as has been mentioned in the dream immediately preceding.

[2] Tipu Sultan mentions "Makhdum Jahanian Jahan," "Gasht" being apparently an omission. Makhdum Jahanian Jahan Gasht was the popular title of Sayyid Jalaluddin Bukhari, the famous saint of Uchh in the Bhawalpur Division of West Pakistan. He was born in 1307 and died in 1386 at Uchh where he was buried. He travelled widely and thus came to be known as "Jahangasht" or world-rover. Tipu Sultan refers to the hill near Salem named after him. This hill is still known by this name amongst the Muslims of the locality and is situated at a distance of about seventeen miles from Salem. Coffee is grown on it and it is a source of supply for aluminium and sand used in the manufacture of sand-paper. It is also known by the names of Arkad and Sarwerayan.

Salem. Accordingly, I ordered trusted individuals to go and find out what was the actual position as regards the beryl mine.

Dream VII

THE LINE OF ENTRENCHMENTS

On the 17th of the month Khusrawi, of the year Sarab, 1217, from the birth of Muhammad, at Salamabad[1], I had a dream: The army of the Sarkar-i-Ahmadi[2] seemed to have built a line of entrenchments for besieging a fort within which were the progeny of Nizam Ali Khan and the son of Basalat Jang. The people within the fort were sueing for mercy. I had planned excellent strategems and I was looking after the line of entrenchments. At this stage I woke up. I had this dream while

1 *See* note under Dream No. IV.

2 One of the names by which Tipu Sultan's Government was known, others being *Sarkar-i-Haidari* and *Saltanat-i-Khudadad* which became the most popular name for his kingdom. *Sarkar-i-Ahmadi* should not be confused with the *Lashkar-i-Ahmadi,* the name given by Tipu Sultan to a section of his army to which new converts to Islam were recruited.

resting before the departure of Qutbuddin Khan and Ali Raza to Nizam Ali Khan.[3]

3 It was in connection with the mission that the Nizam had sent to Tipu Sultan to negotiate peace that he had asked Qutbuddin Khan and Ali Raza Khan to accompany the Nizam's agents to Hyderabad to secure the establishment of a political as well as matrimonial alliance by marrying his son to the Nizam's daughter. Tipu Sultan's representatives reached the Nizam's court in February, 1889.

Dream VIII

THE SACRED RELICS FROM HADRAT BANDAH-NAWAZ

On the 5th of the month Raz Thamari, of the year Shata, corresponding to the 3rd *Shawwal*, 1218, from the birth of Muhammad, on Thursday, while returning to Patan, the Capital, at Salamabad, I had a dream: I saw coming two aged holy persons, both being brothers, with baggage and provisions. They told me they had come according to the orders of Hadrat Bandah-nawaz[1] who had

[1] Hadrat Bandah-nawaz (kind to servants), also known as Gesu-daraz (the long-haired), is the title of Sayyid Muhammad, a famous saint who spent the last twenty-two years of his life at Gulbarga during the rule of Firuz Shah and Ahmad Shah Bahmani; b. 721, d. 825 A.H. He was buried at Gulbarga. There was a tradition in the family of Tipu Sultan from the time of his great-grand-father of attachment to and veneration for the tomb of the Gesu-daraz (vide *Nishan-i-Haidari*, p. 6). Jalaluddin Husaini is the name of the saint given in the *Cambridge History of India* (Vol. III, p. 393) borrowed by M. H. Khan in his *History of Tipu Sultan* which is not supported by any of the well known authorities on the subject.

sent certain sacred relics. Then they gave me a few pieces from the covers of the Ka'bah, the Madinah-i-Munawwarah and the tomb of Hadrat Bandah-nawaz, a copy of the Holy Qur'an and some sugar-candy. I took the sacred relics and raised them to my head. I then opened the Qur'an and found it was written in a beautiful hand. Every page of the Qur'an had the name of the scribe written on it. On some of the pages I noticed the names of Hadrat Bandah-Nawaz and other saints. Both the holy persons said to me that this copy of the Holy Qur'an had been written by several saints and calligraphists and that Hadrat Bandah-nawaz used to recite constantly from this copy. The saint had done a great favour, they added, by sending this copy for me. They also pointed out that they themselves were from among the descendants of Hadrat Bandah-nawaz and it was their custom to recite the *Fatihah* at his tomb and to offer sacrifices around it. Then I read those verses

(of the Holy Qur'an) which had been inscribed in fine handwriting on the gate of the tomb. At this point I woke up. The same afternoon I offered *Fatihah* in the name of Hadrat Bandah-nawaz on eleven cauldrons of sweets.

Dream IX

THE WHITE ELEPHANT FROM CHINA

On the 3rd of the month Thamari which happened to be the last night of the month of Ramadan followed by 'Id the next morning, the year Shata, 1218, from the birth of Muhammad, at a place on the outskirts of Salamabad, while the army was returning from Farrukhi,[1] I had a dream: I seemed to have gone out for a *Shikar* of elephants and captured from the jungle two or three herds of elephants numbering about two hundred, like a flock of sheep. Having chosen the good male elephants and after handing them over to the mahouts, the female-elephants and the young ones were set free in the jungle.

1 New name given by Tipu Sultan to Ferokh, now a village in the Ernad district in Madras. It was an important place in the time of Tipu Sultan who, indeed, tried to raise the town to the position of a rival to Calicut.

The freed elephants did not run away and continued to stroll there. Then I came to the palace along with the captured elephants. In front of my palace, I found men on two white elephants and two horses along with several foot-men carrying spears and guns who had come from somewhere standing to give me a salute. I also stood up and enquired from them where they had come from. They replied they had come from beyond our country's frontier along with the agents of the Emperor of China. I asked them to enter the palace and take a seat in the *Diwan-i-Am* and then called upon the agents of China to appear before me. The two agents along with the two elephants and the two horses presented themselves accordingly. On reaching the place of obeisance they paid their respects. When they proceeded towards me I asked the *arz-begi*[1] to stand up, a practice which is observed in the case of ambassadors. I noticed that

1 The person who presents the petitions to the chief.

both the persons were old and wore white beards. I asked them to sit down. Then after enquiring after the health of the Emperor of China I enquired about the purpose of their visit. They said they had no object in view other than the promotion of greater friendship. I asked the elephants and horses to be brought near me and I made the elephants take a round. I enquired from them as to what was the mode of capturing elephants in their country and explained to them the one prevalent in our own which consisted in capturing a whole herd of elephants, selecting the better ones from among them and setting the rest free in the jungle. I invited them to have a look at the elephants captured that very day. I then ordered the elephants captured that day to be brought. Three or four such elephants were placed before the Chinese agents. I told them that the elephants and horses which the Emperor of China had

sent as a token of affection and friendship were, indeed, very good, and that such friendly interchange was a charming custom. The *Sarkar-i-Ahmadi*, I said to them, possessed an elephant which was very white and a friendly gesture was remembered for ever. As for example, some three or four thousand years ago, the ruler of China had sent a present of a white elephant, a horse and a female slave to Alexander and this one could still read in the pages of the *Sikandar-namah* of Hadrat Nizami.[1] Perhaps since then the Emperor of China, I added, had never sent such a present to anyone until it had been sent to the *Sarkar-i-Ahmadi*. Having said that I showed all courtesy and kindness towards them.

The agents mentioned above were very brave and experienced. They also pointed

1 Nizamuddin Abu Muhammad Ilyas bin Yusuf, one of the great Sufis and poets of Persia, b. 1140. His famous work is *Khamsa*, a collection of five great epic poems, one of which is *Sikandar-Namah*. The romance of Alexander constitutes the central theme of this poem.

out that the Chinese had never sent a white elephant to anyone except Alexander and the Presence. In the meantime morning dawned and I rose.

Dream X

THE TOP OF THE HILL

On the 29th of the month Haidari, on Thursday, in the early hours of the morning, on the eve of the Marhatta War, at Patan, I had a dream: It seemed as if this servant of God Almighty along with a few persons on elephants and horseback had gone for an excursion across the river. The depth of the water in the river seemed to be somewhat less than a man's height. After crossing the river the men halted for a while for drying up the clothes. I also got down from the elephant. At this juncture my elephant and an elephant that was standing near mine gave certain indications as if they were going to fight among themselves. Although the fight had not started as yet, I thought of climbing a hillock nearby in order that I might be at a safe distance from the elephants.

Slowly I walked towards the hillock but on reaching it I found that there was no path leading to its top. I said to myself I must climb it somehow or the other. Since I was determined, I proceeded upwards. But I had gone only a few steps when I had to retreat. I again made up my mind and with great effort I ascended the hillock and reached the top. Owing to great fatigue, I was hardly looking at anything when I saw a small door in front. I entered the door and as soon as I went in, a venerable old man greeted me with a "*Salam alaik*", asked me to come near him and showed extreme kindness towards me. In front of the old man I saw a *darwesh* standing respectfully (with his arms crossed). The place was very clean and at great height and one could see a whole world from here. I was wondering how unusual was the occasion and how extraordinary the venerable old man. At this juncture, I woke up. Place: Patan. Before the Marhatta War.

Dream XI

THE BEAR

On the 10th of the month designated Thamari, the year Shata, 1218, from the birth of Muhammad, at Nazarabad[1] while returning from Farrukhi[2] when our troops were about to give battle to the Nazarenes,[3] Nizam Ali and the Marhattas, and, in accordance with the rules and regulations, I was encamped at a distance of about a mile from the army, I had a dream: It was the night of Thursday, the following day being Thursday, on which a parade was held. I saw a newly made fine sword from Nagar[4] brought

1 New name of Mysore.

2 See note under Dream IX.

3 The word used is "Nasara" which is the equivalent of Christians. Meant, obviously, are the British.

4 Nagar is the name of a town in the Nagar *taluk* of Shimoga district in Mysore. The town was taken by Haidar Ali in 1763 who gave it the name of Haidarnagar and established in it his principal arsenal and mint. It suffered a good deal during the wars fought by Tipu Sultan who, however, strove hard to restore its prosperity.

for me. I unsheathed it and holding it in my hand I was praising it when people shouted that a bear was coming. I stood up and saw a very big bear heading towards us. As soon as he came near me I struck him with my sword. With the very first strike I cut his throat and with the second his mouth which was cut into pieces and fell apart. Shortly afterwards came Muhammad Raza, a bear-leader, whom I had left, while on the march, to kill bears. I enquired from him how many bears he had killed. The bear-leader, mentioned above, replied that he had killed four while one had escaped after being wounded. In the meantime I woke up since morning had already dawned. After taking breakfast I was to march to a distance of three miles for military exercises which I did. While the excursion was on, the bear-leader, mentioned above, came and informed me that he had killed two bears and flayed them while one had escaped into his den after receiving a wound.

Dream XII

A MESSAGE FROM THE PROPHET THROUGH HADRAT ALI

On the 21st of the month Haidari, of the year Busd[1] in accordance with the *Zar* evaluation,[2] the fortieth year of the cycle, at the place where I had halted, on the farther side of the Tungabhadra,[3] I had this dream: It appeared to me as if it was the Day of Judgement when no one would be interested in anyone else. At that time a stranger of great strength and commanding stature with a bright face

1 Corresponding to about 1786. From the Note on the Calendar it would appear that the names given to the fortieth year of the cycle are Dalw and Desa according to the *abjad* and *abtath* evaluations, respectively Busd seems to be a modification introduced at a later stage. Busd, according to *abtath* would also come to 40 (ب = 2; س = 30; د = 8).

2 *Zar* evaluation is the same as *abtath* evaluation, see Note on the Calendar.

3 A river of Southern India, chief tributary of the Krishna, formed by the twin rivers Tunga and Bhadra which run in the Western Ghats.

and red beard and moustaches came to me and taking my hand in his, said to me: 'Do you know who I am?' I told him I did not. He then said to me, "I am Murtaza Ali and the Messenger of God has said and is still repeating it that he would not set his foot in paradise without you and would wait for you and enter the paradise with you." I felt so happy and woke up. God is all powerful, and the Messenger is the intercessor. This suffices.

Dream XIII

A WOMAN IN MAN'S DRESS

Prior to the night attack upon the Marhattas at Shâhnur by the side of Devgiri, on the 6th of the month Khusrawi, of the year Busd, I had a dream: It seemed to me as if a handsome young man, a stranger, came and sat down near me. I passed certain remarks in the manner in which one might, in a playful mood, talk to a woman. I then said to myself: "It is not my custom to enter into playful discourse with anyone." Shortly thereafter, the youth rose, and walking a few paces, returned to loosen his hair from beneath his turban, and opening the fastenings of his robe, displayed his bosom, and I saw it was a woman." I immediately called and seated her and said to her: "Whereas formerly I had only guessed you were a woman, and I had cut jokes with you,

it is now definite that you are a woman in the dress of a man. My conjecture has come true." In the midst of this conversation the morning dawned, and I woke up. I conveyed the contents of the dream to other people and interpreted it thus: That please God those Marhattas have put on the clothes of men, but in fact will prove to be women. By the favour of God and the aid of His Messenger, on the 8th of the month and the year above mentioned, on the morning of Saturday, I made a surprise attack upon the army of the unbelievers. Advancing with two or three hundred men, I myself penetrated the camp of the unbelievers, crushing them as I went, as far as the tent of Hari Pant Pharkiah,[1] and they all fled like women.

[1] Well known Marhatta general who fought against Tipu Sultan in the war which the latter waged against the Marhattas and the Nizam and in which he inflicted defeats on his opponents. Tipu Sultan's success on the battlefield was not reflected in the terms of the peace treaty, since he was keen on winning over the Marhattas to his side for the conflict which he envisaged with the English owing to the military preparations and diplomatic moves of Lord Wellesley.

Dream XIV

DESTROYING THE ENEMY

On the 8th of the month Ja'fari, of the year Shata, 1218, from the birth of Muhammad, at Patan, the Capital, in the Darya Bagh, I had a dream: It seemed to me as if a battle had taken place near a wood with the Nazarenes and all the army of the Nazarenes had dispersed and fled, and by the favour of God the army of the *Sarkar-i-Ahmadi* had been victorious. The officer of the unbelievers, with a few Nazarenes, retreated into a large house and closed the door. I asked my people as to what was to be done. They advised me to break open the door, in order that the house which was ornamented might suffer no damage. I said to them that the house was built of bricks and mortar, and therefore we should set fire and burn down the gate and destroy all the Nazarenes within with our muskets. At this juncture the morning dawned and I awoke. By the favour of God it shall thus happen.

Dream XV

THE KNIFE

On the 24th of the month Wasii of the year Dalw, 1212 A.H., at Devgiri, I had a dream: I saw a knife, very fine and glittering. Its handle was made of fish-tooth at the edge of which was set a cornelian. Holding it in my hand, I praised it and offered it with a sheet of cloth as a robe of honour to the famous saint of Bangalore, Suti Sahib. Mir Mu'inuddin said that it was an excellent knife and he would purchase it from Suti Sahib and bind it to his handkerchief. And I said (to Mir Mu'inuddin) that I would give him a handle of sword made of jasper. In the meantime I rose. It was morning.

Dream XVI

THE FLOWERS

On the 23rd of the month Ja'fari, on Thursday, at Hartala on the far side of Panchanguda, while intending to go to war with the irreligious Nazarenes, I had a dream: It seemed to me as if I was sitting in the ante-chamber and people were saying that snow and a cold wave were coming like solidified clouds and people will die of the cold wave. I said God would show mercy. When the cold bringing cloud appeared, I also went into the inner chamber. Inside the chamber there was a snake. I killed it. On coming outside I saw a tiger running away. I got hold of a gun and after a little chase I shot the tiger dead. Then I noticed the same clouds approaching and I watched them standing. It seemed to be raining and along with rain seemed to fall double jasmine

flowers of big size and many other smaller wild flower buds. And I said, "Praise be to God who has favoured us with such beautiful flowers and continues to favour us with them". I was in this state of happiness when I woke up and morning dawned. May God grant his favours!

Dream XVII

THE STRANGE COW

On the 7th of the month Ja'fari, of the year Shadab, 1217, from the birth of Muhammad, while encamped at Salam-abad[1], preceding the attack upon the entrenchments of Rama Nayar,[2] after the *Maghrib* Prayers, I invoked God in these terms: "O God, in the hills the unbelievers of the land of the enemy have forbidden fasting and prayer; convert them all to Islam, so that the religion of Thy Messenger may gain in strength." In the course of the night, and towards the morning I had a dream: It appeared to me that after traversing the forests and high hills the army of the *Ahmadi Sarkar* had encamped. On the way and near the place of encampment I saw a cow with its calf,

1 New name of Satyamangalam. See note under Dream IV.

2 Rama Nayar was one of the organizers of the Malabar revolts against Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan.

in semblance like a big striped tiger; its countenance, teeth, etc., looked like those of a tiger; its forelegs were like those of a cow; it had no hinder legs at all; its forelegs were in slight motion; and it was causing injury to the best of its ability. Having closely examined it, I reached the camp and directed several persons to prepare themselves and accompany me. I said to them: "God willing, on arriving near this cow which looks like a tiger, I shall with my own hand cut it along with its calf into pieces." Having said that, I reviewed my household stud and gave orders for two grey horses to be quickly saddled and brought. At this moment the morning appeared and I woke up.

At that very moment, the following interpretation of the dream suggested itself to my mind: that the Nazarenes of the hills are like the cow with its calf with the appearance of tigers; and by the favour of God and through the felicity and aid of the Prophet, the place mentioned will

be reduced with ease and all the irreligious Nazarenes will be slain. The slight motion of the forelegs I interpreted to mean that they would make an attempt to wage war, and the absence of hinderlegs indicated that no one would afford them any help and that no Muslim would receive any injury at their hands. Through the aid of God, be it so.

Dream XVIII

THE EMERALDS

AND

Dream XIX

THE COLLAPSE OF THE GATE

By the grace of God, in the month Bahari, of the year Shad, 1223, from the birth of Muhammad, between the 9th and 15th, I had two dreams:

In the course of the first dream I saw a horseman coming and handing over to me a few emeralds of superior quality and exquisite colour and unequalled in size, indeed as large as oranges. I, thereupon, said that we in our State had no emerald of this size and it was all due to God's grace that He had bestowed such emeralds on us. It was dawn, and I woke up.

The other dream is as follows: Around the tower at the gate of the temple, the

unbelievers had tied rods of wood at great heights for the purpose of illumination and had fixed lights on them. In a moment the lights went out and the rods fell and the gate collapsed. There was such a crash that all the buildings shook and this servant of God also came out of the building somewhat disturbed. I asked people to come out of their houses quickly and enquire about the people who were residing in the many houses that were situated so close to the temple. People went and brought the news that the gate had collapsed but the people living in the neighbourhood were all safe. In the meantime morning dawned and I woke up.

DREAM XX : THE THIEF

On the 29th of the month Ja'fari, of the year Shad, 1223, from the birth of Muhammad, corresponding to the 28th of Muharram, on Thursday, early in the morning, I had a dream: It seemed as if I had said my morning prayers with a large congregation after which all of us had remained seated. Sayyid Ali Qazi and Abdur Rahman Maulvi proposed to the gathering to have a three-lettered *Khatm*[1], in the same sitting, for, according to them, there was great virtue attached to it. I accepted the proposal. They said one hundred people should participate in the recital. I

[1] It may be stated on the authority of a knowledgeable Sufi of Karachi that great virtue is attached to the three-lettered (سه حرفی) *Khatm* in which up to 117 persons can participate. "*Muiz*" (معز) is the three-lettered attribute of God, beginning with the letter M (م) with which the *Khatm* starts.

expressed my willingness to join but I told them that I could not remain seated for long hours and, therefore, a hundred persons should be chosen excluding myself though I would also associate myself with it. They chose the persons accordingly and began with the letter 'M'. When the *Khatm* commenced I found myself among the participants. Apart from those persons who were taking part in the *Khatm*, others were seated on one side and were taking food. When I was going for my prayers along with other men and had crossed the culvert, I came across a black and bulky Marhatta with an empty tray in his hand. As soon as I saw him, I drew out my dagger and asked him who he was. He told me that he was Dhonduji's[1] servant and house-steward and that he had brought gold and silver for me. As he entreated me to accept the present and generously distribute it to whomsoever I liked, I

1 Dhondu Pant Gokhale, a Marhatta chief.

asked him to wait till I had finished my prayers after which, I said, I would talk to him. He was thus sitting when on the conclusion of the prayers, Ghulam Ali[2] came and submitted that this particular person was an intruder who had entered his house. I asked him to be careful for this man seemed to be a great thief who might run away with his horse. And I asked the unbeliever to surrender the things he had brought to the *Sarkar-i-Khudadad* and I made him understand that if I freed a person like him many people would be ruined. In the meantime rain came in torrents and I woke up.

2 Perhaps Ghulam Ali Khan is meant who was one of the ambassadors despatched by Tipu Sultan to the Sultan of Turkey in 1786.

Dream XXI

THE NIZAM'S REPRESENTATIVE

On the 25th of the month Rabbani, of the year Rasikh, 1222, from the birth of Muhammad, when four watches of day remained, I had a dream: I saw that the Diwan of Nizam Ali Khan had arrived. As to his appearance, he had no teeth in the mouth and he had dyed his hair. He was seeking help from me. The servant of God said to him, "All right, you settle down! Let me consult my advisers, after which you will have my reply." After speaking to him in this manner, I sent him outside the fort for being put up and said to myself that one should console such people in conversation. The Poonaite[1] was the first to seek assistance and now it was the turn of those people to seek assistance. But one could not depend on their word. At this juncture I woke up.

1 Poonawala is the term used by which is meant the Peshwa.

Dream XXII

THE EXTRAORDINARY IDOLS

On the 8th of the month Zakiri, on the night of Tuesday, the following day being Wednesday, of the year Hirasat, 1224, from the birth of Muhammad, corresponding to the 7th of *Jamadi-ul-thani*, in the morning, I had the following dream: There seemed to be a big temple, the back portion of which was slightly damaged. It contained several large idols. I went into the temple along with a few other men and noticed that the idols were seeing like human beings and their eyes were in motion. I was surprised to see the eyes of the idols moving like those of the living and wondered what could it be due to. Then I approached them. In the last row there were two female idols. One of these two, drawing out her *sari* from betwixt her two knees, stated that both

of them were women while the rest of the idols were the images of men and other objects. She added that they had been praying to God for a long time and everyone ought to nourish oneself. I said to her, "That is fine, do keep yourself occupied with the remembrance of God." Having said that I ordered my men to repair the dilapidated building. In the meantime I woke up.

Dream XXIII

THE MANGO GROVE

On the 12th of the month Ja'fari of the year Hirasat, 1224, from the birth of Muhammad, on Monday, early in the morning, I had a dream: It seemed to me as if this servant of God Almighty, riding an elephant, went into a mango grove and noticed a large number of clusters of mangoes on the trees. Each mango, a cubit in length, was so big in size. Some of the mangoes were round and these were as large as cocoa-nuts.

I was very pleased to see these mangoes and plucking many of them from the trees, I put them in front of me, in the canopied litter of the elephant. I was still having a ride in the grove when I woke up.

Dream XXIV

FRENCH TROOPS

On the 12th of the month Bahari, of the year Hirasat, 1224, from the birth of Muhammad, on the night of Thursday, the following day being Friday, and towards the morning, this servant of God had a dream: It was represented to me that a Frenchman of standing had arrived. I sent for him, and he came. When the Frenchman came, I was absorbed in some business. But as he approached the throne I noticed him and I rose and embraced him. I asked him to take a seat and inquired after his health. The Christian then said: "I have come with ten thousand Franks to serve the *Sarkar-i-Khudadad*[1] and I have disembarked them all on the shore. They are well-built, stout and young." I, thereupon, said to him, "That is fine.

[1] See note under DreemVII.

Here too all the equipment for war is ready and the followers of Islam are eager, in large numbers, to prosecute *Jihad*." At this moment the morning came and I awoke.

Dream XXV

THE NIZAM'S MINISTER

On the 14th of the month Bahari, of the year Hirasat, 1224, from the birth of Muhammad, on the night of Saturday, I had a dream: I saw Asad Ali Khan[1] come to me. He submitted that he had come after conquering the territory of Kuddapah[2]. He offered his services with four thousand horsemen, if only I would have him. I indicated my acceptance of the offer but, in addition to the service of four thousand, I asked for an yearly present. In the meantime morning came and I awoke.

[1] Asad Ali Khan, a Minister of the Nizam, sent to Tipu Sultan in 1786 to dissuade him from attacking Adoni. Later he led an army against Tipu Sultan in 1795. *Nishan-i-Haidari*, p. 302 and Mackenzie, *A Sketch of the War with Tippoo Sultan* Vol. II, p. 66.

[2] A district in Madras. In the time of Tipu Sultan it was included in his State. After 1799 it formed a part of the Nizam's Dominions for a short while and then, in 1800, passed into the hands of the East India Company.

Dream XXVI

THE EXPULSION OF THE ENGLISH

On the 3rd of the month Razi, corresponding to the 1st of the month of *Sha'ban*, 1224, from the birth of Muhammad, on Monday, the night of Tuesday, at the metropolis, in the early hours of the morning, I had a dream: Raghunath Rao,[1] the Marhatta agent, who had been to me before, appeared before me and said, "The English have suffered a crushing defeat in Europe and are now on the verge of leaving Bengal voluntarily." On hearing his statement, I said, "That is fine, I will despatch troops as well as money; if God wills, the Nazarenes shall be expelled from India."

1 Perhaps meant is Raghunath Rao Patwardhan who on numerous occasions had dealings with Tipu Sultan both as a soldier and a diplomat.

Dream XXVII

THE HAJJ

On the 29th of the month Razi, corresponding to the 27th of *Sha'ban*, 1224, from the birth of Muhammad, at Tanjangor where I had gone for *shikar* and had ordered the construction of a fort to be named Ilahabad, early in the morning, I had a dream: It seemed I had gone for *Hajj*. When I was entering the sanctuary of the Ka'bah, a respectable and distinguished gentleman from among the Arabs came and took me into the Ka'bah and indicated to me how I should offer my prayers. I followed his instructions in saying my prayers. Then he asked me to kiss the Black Stone. The Black Stone was affixed to a big square towards the lower side of the wall. I felt very happy at the time of kissing the Stone and I did it with the greatest reverence. Inside the sanctuary where there was not

much room, there was a box. The gentleman said that the turban which was kept there had been conferred on me by God and he asked me to grasp it. He then took out the turban from the box and handed it over to me. I seized one end of the turban and he seized the other and together we unfolded it and found it laid with gold. It was an exquisite piece of craftsmanship. After having a look at it, I refolded the turban with care and put it in the box and carried it with me. Then I came out. The venerable gentleman told me that there was an idol at some distance which I ought to insult and at which I ought to throw stones. In accordance with his instructions I threw stones at it. Then I proceeded to visit certain shrines. In the meantime I awoke.

Dream XXVIII

THE FRESH DATES

At the capital, on the night of Sunday, the following morning being Monday, the 2nd of the month Zakiri, of the year Saz, 1225, from the birth of Muhammad, corresponding to the 3rd *Jamadi-ul thani*, I had a dream: It seemed to me as if three silver trays of fresh dates known as *ratb* were brought and placed before me. The dates were each of the size of a span. They were fresh and full of juice. It was reported to me that they had been reared in the garden. At that moment I awoke and found it was morning. This servant of God interpreted the dream as follows: That by the grace of merciful God the dominions and homes of all the three *Kafirs*[1] shall fall into his hands. On the 3rd of the month mentioned above news arrived that Nizam Ali was dead.

1 Among the three *Kafirs* are obviously included not only the British and the Marhattas but the Nizam! In the eyes of Tipu Sultan he who sided with the *Kafirs* was a *Kafir*.

Dream XXIX

A BATTLE WITH THE ENGLISH

On the 28th of the month Zakiri, of the year Saz, 1225, from the birth of Muhammad, corresponding to the 26th of *Jamadi-ul-thani*, 1212 A. H., at the metropolis, on Wednesday, I had a dream: It seemed as if a battle had taken place between the *Sarkar-i-Khudadad*[1] and the Nazarenes. This servant of God was standing on a hillock and the troops had similarly taken their position upon it. All of them were asking for permission to let off their guns and were saying: "If God the Most High wills, we shall turn out the Nazarenes from India". In the meanwhile I woke up.

[1] See note under dream VII.

Dream XXX

IN THE ASSEMBLY OF SAINTS

On the 21st of the month Zakiri, of the year Saz, 1225, from the birth of Muhammad, corresponding to the 19th of *Jamadi-ul-thani*, 1212 A. H., on Saturday, at the metropolis, I had a dream: It seemed as if this servant of God had gone to an assembly of saints where he saw about fifty to sixty saints sitting. They all greeted me with a *Salam-'alaik*. I saw 'Ataullah Shah Sahib[1] also sitting among the saints. He called me. I went and sat before him. He asked me to get hold of a gun. I replied: "Sir, I am a soldier; whoever may possess a gun or any other arms, these are mine. I shall be the first to seize a gun". In the meantime I woke up.

[1] A divine contemporary of Tipu Sultan.

Dream XXXI

THE GIFT OF THE TURBANS

On the 25th of the month Rahmani, on Friday, the night of Saturday, 1225, from the birth of Muhammad, in the hours of the morning, I had a dream: I saw Hadrat Muhammad, the Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him,) bestowing on me a green turban and asking me to bind it on my head. I did it accordingly. Then Hadrat Bandah-nawaz[1] bestowed a turban and asked me to put it on my head which I did. Then Hadrat Ahmad[2] bestowed a turban and I bound it on my head. On the top of the mountain there was an excellent fort. I was having a look at it when I woke up. My interpretation of the dream is that God Almighty and our Prophet have conferred the empire of the seven climes upon me.

[1] See note under Dream VIII.

[2] It is not clear who is meant, may be it is Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Thani.

Dream XXXII

THE BRIDGE OF ELEPHANTS

On the 12th of the month Ahmadi, of the year Shadab, 1226, from the birth of Muhammad, on the night of Thursday, I had a dream. The troops seemed to be stationed by the side of the river. This servant of the High was on horseback. He saw that the river was in spate and he issued instructions that all the elephants should be brought and made to stand in the river, one adjacent to the other, thus forming a bridge. He then asked the troops to cross the river by passing over the backs of the elephants and under their protection. The whole army actually crossed the river in this manner. In the meanwhile I woke up.

Dream XXXIII

ALMONDS AND STONES

On the 1st of the month Dini, of the year Shadab, 1226, from the birth of Muhammad, on Thursday, when four watches of the day were yet to go, while in the metropolis, I had a dream: I seemed to be reciting the names of God on almonds among which I had mixed 'salgram'[1] stones, salgram being an object of worship by the unbelievers. My motive in doing so was that like their idols who were embracing Islam, the unbelievers also would enter the fold of Islam. On concluding my recitation, I stated that all the idols of the unbelievers had embraced Islam and I ordered the stones to be picked out and replaced by almonds. My interpretation

1 A small flinty stone rounded by the action of water representing Vishnu who is said to have been turned to stone by a curse. It is found in the beds of the rivers Narbada and Gandak.

is that by the grace of God all unbelievers would embrace Islam and the country would pass into the hands of the *Sarkar-i-Khudadad.*

Dream XXXIV

SHAIKH SA'DI OF SHIRAZ

On the 13th of the month Khusrawi, on Monday, in the year 1226, from the birth of Muhammad, corresponding to the 11th of *Jamadi-ul-awwal*, 1213 A. H., on the fourteenth night of the moon, the following day being Tuesday, in the early hours of the morning, I had a dream: I saw Hadrat Sa'di Shirazi.[1] The appearance of the aforesaid was somewhat like this: he was big-bodied with a large head and a long and white beard. I most respectfully offered him a seat. He seemed to be very pleased. I enquired from him what countries he had visited. "Hindustan,[2] Arcot,[3]

[1] Shaikh Muslihuddin Sa'di of Shiraz; famous Persian poet and writer; b. 1184; the date of his death is uncertain but he is said to have lived for about 100 years. His best known works are *Gulistan* and *Bustan*. In poetry he is supposed to be the master of *ghazal*.

[2] Northern India.

[3] At present an inland district on the eastern side of the State of Madras. In Muslim times there was a *Subah* of Arcot.

the country of Abdun Nabi Khan,[1] the country of Kalopant[2] and Konkon"[3] was his reply. Then he recited several verses and couplets and after going round the palace he took a seat. In the meantime I woke up, since the morning had already dawned.

[1] Abdun Nabi Khan had carved out a principality for himself sometime during the first quarter of the eighteenth century centring in the district of Kuddapah. He brought certain adjacent areas such as Salem and Coimbatore under his sway. Abdun Nabi Khan died about 1730.

[2] Kalopant was the all powerful Minister of Venkat Rao, and as such, the real ruler of Nargund, a petty state, which was annexed by Tipu Sultan in 1785. Nargund is, at present, a taluka in the Dharawar District of Bombay.

[3] Konkan is the name applied to the tract of country below the Western Ghats including Bombay and the district of Thana, Kolaba, Ratanagiri and the coast strip of Kanara, as well as the islands of Janjira, Goa, etc.

Dream XXXV

MAULANA JAMI

AND

Dream XXXVI

THE PLANTAIN FRUITS

On the 24th of the month Taqi, of the year Shadab, on Friday, in the afternoon, at Haidarabad, I had a dream: It seemed as if this servant of God had gone into a garden in which there were several buildings. The people told me that Maulana Jami[1] was staying there. I went to the Maulana and expressed my pleasure at his arrival. The Maulana said to me. "I have come to meet you". I again repeated how nice and appropriate it was that he had come,

1 Maulana Nuruddin Abdur Rahman Jami; great Persian poet, often described as the last classic poet of Persia; b. 1414 in the district of Jam in the Province of Herat; d. 1492; greatly influenced by mystic thought; a disciple of Saduddin Muhammad Kashghari, himself a disciple and successor of the famous sufi saint, Bahauddin Naqshband.

and added, "In old times lived Maulana Sa'adi, and in our own God Almighty had produced Maulana Jami and sent him to us. I shall seek his blessings". Having said that I took the Maulana with me to my residence.

That very night in the early hours of the morning I had another dream: A young and beautiful woman, putting on costly jewellery and clothes, came to me. She was carrying three big ripe plantain fruits of the size of large cucumbers. She handed over the fruits to this servant of God, and I said, I had never seen such plantain fruit. I ate one of them and found it extremely sweet and delicious. In the meanwhile I woke up.

Dream XXXVII

THE ARMIES OF THE UNBELIEVERS

On the 10th of the month Rahmani, of the year Shadab, 1226, from the birth of Muhammad, corresponding to the 9th of the month of Shaban, 1213 A. H., on the night of Wednesday, the following day being Wednesday, while at the metropolis, I had a dream. I saw one of the armies of the unbelievers being killed and taken prisoner on behalf of the *Sarkar-i-Khudadad*. I also said that news had reached me informing me of the arrival of another army of the unbelievers and expressed the feeling that it ought to be similarly destroyed. I started accordingly in order to accomplish this mission. In the meanwhile I woke up; it was morning.

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SAYYID MUHAMMAD ASLAM'S DREAM

Sayyid Muhammad Aslam, a divine residing at Kolar[1] sent a memorandum to the Prince saying that in the month of *Rajab-al-Murajjab*, the day being Thursday, he had received the following tidings (in the course of a dream): The *Imam* of the world[2] was sitting on a red floor. The *faqir*[3] was also in attendance. Suddenly Hadrat Shah Murtaza Karamallah-u-Wajhu[4] arrived. The Prophet seized Hadrat Ali's arm, brought him outside, and asked him to mount a piebald horse. The Prophet himself rode another one and fixed a naked sword on his shoulder. Thus the two departed. They had gone some distance when they saw hundreds of thousands of Nazarenes armed with guns. Suddenly there was a loud thunder

[1] A district in the east of the State of Mysore.

[2] The Prophet of Islam.

[3] Sayyid Muhammad Aslam himself.

[4] Hadrat Ali.

from behind and all the Nazarenes took to their heels. After covering about two miles I saw the party returning towards the metropolis highly pleased. They stopped at another place. Here the Messenger of God, on whom be peace, was sitting on a prayer carpet and near him was a boy five to six years old. Many leaders of religions were present in a row like followers in congregational prayer. In the meanwhile Hadrat Murtaza Ali said (to the Messenger of Allah) pointing to the boy, that he (the boy) was the Sultan. The Hadrat, thereupon, uttered the words "*Daimun, Qaimun*" and "*Qaimun, Daimun*"[1]. Hadrat Ali, then asked the names of the Companions of the Cave[2] to be inscribed on his (the Sultan's) standard. After making an obeisance, I went out and saw all the seven Khwajas, clad in shreds and patches

[1] Literally the words stand for "durable and perpetual". It may be taken as a prayer for the durability and perpetuation of Tipu Sultan's regime.

[2] *Ashab-i-Kahf* or the Companions of the Cave whose history is related in the eighteenth chapter of the Holy Quran.

going. Somone asked this servant as to who these dignitaries were and he replied that these were: Khawajah Yusuf Hamdani[1], Khawajah Bayazid Bastami,[2] Khwajah Abul Hasan Kharqani[3], Khwajah Bahauddin Naqshband[4] and Khwajah Abu Mansur Maturidi.[5] The Shahinshah[6] came. All then made an obeisance and left.

1 Khawaja Yusuf bin Ayyub Hamdani; b. 1048; d. 1140 A.C., buried at Marw; disciple of Shaikh Abu Ali Farindi and Shaikh Abu Ishaq Shirazi. Used to meet Hadrat Ghauth-i-Azam frequently at Baghdad.

2 Bayazid Bastami's real name was Abu Yazid Taifur bin Isa bin Surushan; a famous Sufi saint who died in 875 or 878 A.C., buried at Bastam, a town in the Persian province of Khorasan.

3 Shaikh Abul Hasan Kharqani; a great Sufi; his real name was Ali; his *Kunniyat* was Abul Hasan; contemporary of Bayazid Bastami; there is a long discourse on him by Shaikh Fariduddin Attar in his *Tadhkiratul Awliya* translated by R.A. Nicholson, 1907.

4 Muhammad bin Muhammad Bahauddin al-Bukhari Nashqband, founder of the Naqshbandi order of Sufiism, b. 1317; d. 1389.

5 Abu Mansur Maturidi, the head of the Maturidi school of Muslim theology which is orthodox and Sunnite; contemporary of Ashari, the founder of another orthodox school; defended orthodox Islam by the same weapons of logical argument with which the Mutazalites attacked it; died in Samarqand in 944 A.C.

6. The "King of Kings," i.e. the Prophet of Islam.

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Times Press, Sadar, Karachi.